

7
L E T T E R

T O T H E

REV. DR. PRICE, F. R. S.

WHEREIN HIS

**Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty,
the Principles of Government, &c.**

ARE CANDIDLY EXAMINED;

HIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES refuted,

AND THE

**FALLACY of his REASONING FROM
THESE PRINCIPLES detected.**

ALSO

**THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY,
EXPLAINED and DEMONSTRATED;**

**The CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY of the
SUPREME LEGISLATURE of GREAT BRITAIN,
Over every Part of the *British Dominions*,**

**BOTH IN THE MATTER OF
LEGISLATION AND TAXATION,
and in every Act of Legal Authority,
ASSERTED AND FULLY VINDICATED.**

By a Lover of Peace and good Government.

L O N D O N:

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E R R A T A.

Preface, Line 17, for "Jurisdictions" read "Jurisdiction". Page 7, Line 12, for "rude," read "crude." Page 10, Line 5 and 6 from the Bottom, for "Spirited," read "Spiritual." Page 12, Line 14, for "No," read "Now," and Line 21, for "Centre," read "Central." Page 13, Line 14, for "Definitions Liberty," read "Definitions of Liberty." Page 32, Line 14, for "Idoltry," read "Idolatry".



P R E F A C E.

T O T H E

C A N D I D R E A D E R.

THE following Considerations would never have made their Appearance in the Form of a Pamphlet, but through a Necessity that is laid upon every Friend to Government, to take this open Road to vindicate GREAT BRITAIN and the Authority of the SUPREME LEGISLATURE, by the Conduct of the several Papers, with which the Press teems every Day. So far are the Managers of these Daily Intelligencers from the Impartiality they profess, *of being open to all Parties and influenced by none*, that they are open to the Productions of American Partisans only, and strongly-barricaded against every sensible spirited Essay, in Defence of GREAT BRITAIN's supreme Jurisdictions over all her Connections and Dependencies; so that Britain and her Governors have no Chance, even in her own Printing Presses, to maintain her Sovereign Jurisdiction. Yet these are the Men who are frequently alarming us with an intended Blow aimed at the Liberty of the Press, while they themselves are stabbing
that

that Liberty to the Heart, by suppressing the most rational Defence of Great Britain, and encouraging the most licentious and indecent Attacks on Government. Nay, I am well informed, that while they reject the soundest Pieces, in Support of Legislature, they pay liberally for the most stupid disgusting Trash on the other Side, the very Dregs of Literature and the Disgrace of the Press.—Consequently the Well-Wishers to our happy Constitution, are driven to this Method of communicating their Sentiments, or to see our Country involved in Ruin, through Misrepresentation.

The Author hopes no candid Reader will take Offence at some small Freedoms taken with the Priesthood, it being done only with a View to hold up the amazing Contrast to publick Observation, which our Times exhibit, the Junction of eminent Saints and notorious Sinners, to decry, degrade and pull down Government, to the Grief and Astonishment of all sensible and moderate Men of all Ranks and Denominations: It is high Time therefore, for the latter to unite in Support of our Country against such an unnatural Group.

A LETTER

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E

Rev. DOCTOR PRICE.

REV. SIR,

YOUR OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURE OF CIVIL LIBERTY, THE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE JUSTICE AND POLICY OF THE WAR WITH AMERICA, having made a considerable Noise in the World, which reached my Ears, with additional Surprize, on hearing you had wrote directly against the Government, in Vindication of the American REBELLION; whereas, I judged from your prior Advertisements similar to the Title above recited, and the Opinion I had preconceived of you, that you had written in Support of the British Legislature, against all open Rebels and secret Traitors; I think I may, with you, "use
the

“ that Liberty of examining public Measures, which, happily for this Kingdom, every Person in it enjoys;” and also examining the Sentiments of any private Man *connected* or unconnected, respecting these Measures. I shall therefore attempt a candid Criticism on your Observations.

Without dwelling on the polite Compliment you pay GREAT BRITAIN, in your Preface, “ of her attempting to rob the Americans of that Liberty to which every Member of Society, and all civil Communities have a natural and unalienable Right;” I pass on to examine your first Section, OF THE NATURE OF LIBERTY IN GENERAL. And first, I am dissatisfied with your four Divisions of it, (for three Reasons) first, I cannot say I understand your Definitions! Secondly, I dare say ninety-nine out of an hundred of your Readers, are in the same Predicament with me! Thirdly, because I am doubtful whether you yourself rightly know your own Meaning! Therefore, *in limine erras!* ——— If by *Physical Liberty*, you meant that NATURAL LIBERTY which Man enjoys, in his rude uncul-

uncultivated State, unconnected with Society, and unrestrained by civil Government; why did not you say so in plain Terms?—As to Moral Liberty, I never before heard of it! Moral Obligations, indeed, subsisting between Man and Man, and Societies and Individuals are well known and understood, where metaphysical Chicanery has not obscured them, and Licentiousness has not dissolved the Tye: Your Definitions of RELIGIOUS and CIVIL LIBERTY, are rude and undigested.

“ In order, therefore, to obtain a more
 “ distinct and accurate View of the Nature
 “ of Liberty, as such, it will be useful
 “ (I think) to consider it under the THREE
 “ following general Divisions.”

First, LIBERTY OF THOUGHT, otherwise FREE-THINKING; the Soul and Quintessence of all other Liberty; which sublime Privilege of the human Mind, no Power has a Right to limit or controul, but that great Supreme who endowed the human Soul with that noble Faculty; and which has never been limited or contracted by
 any

any Power on Earth, but by the Power of PRIESTCRAFT, *the Parent of Superstition, Bigotry and spiritual Slavery.*

Secondly, The LIBERTY OF SPEECH, that is, the free and uninterrupted Communication of those Thoughts that rise spontaneously in the Mind, to other Individuals or to Multitudes. In this Head of Liberty, I include WRITING and PRINTING, which are only more artificial, substantial and extensive Modes of conveying our Sentiments to distant Parts and succeeding Generations, as well as to cotemporary Neighbours.

Thirdly, The LIBERTY OF ACTING, or FREE AGENCY; this general Division I shall beg Leave to sub-divide into Two particular Modes of Free Agency, viz. that above alluded to, which Man enjoys in a State of uncultivated Nature, with all its Advantages and Disadvantages—And that LIBERTY which Man enjoys as a Member of Society, limited by Laws and subject to Government of some Sort or other, where-soever his Lot happens to be cast; this I
call

call civil Liberty or the Liberty of a Citizen. In the first Case, the Man thinks freely, speaks what he pleases (if he has learnt the Use of Language) acts as he pleases, until restrained by superior Force, which he must either submit to or fly from. This Case appears plain and simple, without Variety. The other civilized State of Man is complex, intricate and multifarious, and requires much Investigation, which you jump over, as easy as you would a Country Church Stile.

Now Sir, I think my Definitions of Liberty have this Advantage over yours, that they must be clearly understood, by every Man and Woman who thinks right and means well; because, I have in my Arrangement, followed exactly the Line marked out for me, by God and Nature, which speaks intelligibly to every rational thinking Being.

Having thus rejected your Definitions of Liberty, as confused and unintelligible, I must pass over your more abstruse abstract Reasoning upon them, as inadequate to establish

blish your subsequent Conclusions. You cannot but observe, that in my First Head of Liberty, I have amply secured your Third Division, RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, in that Great SANCTUM SANCTORUM, LIBERTY OF THOUGHT, *where GOD alone can of Right preside.* This Great Privilege, every Man may enjoy, in Defiance of all Governments, good and bad, free and despotick; and this I take to be the only “*natural and unalienable Right*” which any Man does or can preserve, whole and undiminished, under every Form of Government whatsoever.

The only Power on Earth that has ever attempted to invade the LIBERTY OF THINKING among Mankind, is the Sacerdotal Tribe, which has been too successful in fettering the Minds of Men, by a SPIRITED SLAVERY, which has greatly contributed to rivet the Fetters, forged by despotick Governments on their wretched Subjects, and not a little to render free Governments tyrannical.

To

To resume this great Privilege and Ornament of human Nature, FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, as above described, is the first, the surest and safest Step toward that Freedom of Speech, Writing and Printing, which is decent and useful to Individuals, and Societies; and also that civil Liberty in Action, which constitutes a well regulated, good Government, whereby Men are permitted to do all the Good in their Power, and restrained from injuring their Neighbours or the Community, by good and wholesome Laws, equally poised for the Security and Welfare of all, indiscriminately.

Your sudden Transition in the 3d Page, from Personal Liberty of three Sorts, to CIVIL LIBERTY, which you say is "*the Power of a civil Society or State, to govern itself, by its own Discretion,*" leaves such a Chasm in the Mind of your Reader, of the Train of Reasoning, necessary to convince Rationals, that we are lost as in a Gulph; and there is no following you further, without a Supplement to this Defect! without investigating the Origin of Govern-

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ment,

ment, or tracing it from the Paternal Rule, where it must have originated, through the Patriarchal, Local and Provincial Stages, until it grew to petty Sovereignties, Principalities, small Kingdoms, Conjunctions of Kingdoms and Provinces called EMPIRES, you tumble all at once upon *Civil Society or State*, and the Idea of *Self Direction or Self Government*, not distinguishing between a wandering Tribe of Arabians and a great extended Empire, such as CHINA, INDOSTAN, RUSSIA or TURKEY, or the yet more complicated, stupendous and distended BRITISH EMPIRE. No, in Regard to all or any of these civil Societies and States, I should be glad to know what you possibly can mean by *Self Direction or Self Government*? — Do you mean that the extreme Parts, the remote Provinces, the inconsiderable Districts should have equal Power and Jurisdiction with the Centre Spot, the Seat of Government; the Head and Heart of the great Body, which animates, moves, directs and governs the whole vast Machine; which communicates Health, Wealth and Strength, and affords powerful Protection to every Part? — Must the Self Government of this
immense

immense Body stand still, until every Part can unite and concur in every Act of Legislature? Or do you mean the British Empire is a mere Phantom or a political Dream, and that every Island, Colony or Province is a separate Self-directed Self-governed State, independent on the great Centre of the Empire? Pray Sir, be explicit and tell us, whether the same Government will serve GREAT BRITAIN and a Company of ARABS?

In your second Section, your Description of Government, is as romantic as your Definitions, Liberty are confuted—You say
 “ In every free State, every Man is his
 “ own Legislator — All Taxes are free
 “ Gifts for public Services. — All Laws are
 “ particular Provisions or Regulations established by common Consent for gaining
 “ Protection and Safety—And all Magistrates are Trustees or Deputies for carrying these Regulations into Execution.”
 Pray Rev. Sir, where do you find such free States! name but one so constituted, if you cannot produce one to public View, it follows according to you, there is no such
 Thing

Thing as a free State, and you have been entertaining us with a Picture in the Clouds. — When a Man publickly offers his Judgement to unravel the intricate State of national Affairs, he should have some clear correct Ideas of Civil Liberty and the Principles of Government; which you seem to be destitute of. — Here then I must leave you, in the Confusion of your own creating, and in my Way, *pay* a decent Compliment to the pacific Plan you have introduced in your Eighth and Ninth Pages: It is extremely well intended, and deserves Attention; but if you want to see your Proposal on a more enlarged and comprehensive Scale, you will find a Plan of general Pacification, which I published in the LONDON MAGAZINE, somewhere in the Year 1761 or 62, I cannot well remember which.

To the Execution of this beneficent Plan, the present State of Europe is extremely favourable; may the several leading Potentates avail themselves of the golden Opportunity, to bless Mankind with universal Peace, Unity, Amity, and lasting Tranquility.

The

The Obscurity of your first Principles of Liberty, Natural, Civil and Religious, runs thro' all your Speculations and Applications of them, and scarce any where can we find them strictly applicable to GREAT BRITAIN itself, much less as connected with its Dependencies. — Who can understand you in the latter Part of your Eleventh Page? where you say, “ That State I have observed is FREE which is guided by its own Will, or (which comes to the same) by the Will of an Assembly of Representatives appointed by itself, and accountable to itself.” What is meant by these Words? “ *appointed by itself, and accountable to itself.*” Without which Mode of Government you dogmatically pronounce every State to be in SLAVERY? — Pray what is a fair Representation? You say we boast of it in this Country, you will not say with how much Reason! — If it does not exist in this Country; pray tell us in what Country it does exist? Point to us out that happy Land of Liberty, and good Order for a Model.

Your

Your Definition of *Licentiousness*, is, if possible, worse than your Description of Liberty; You say, Page 12, “ It is Government by the Will of rapacious Individuals, in Opposition to the Will of the Community, made known and declared in the Laws.” Now this happens to be a Definition of a despotic Government, or rather a tyrannical Aristocracy; whereas *Licentiousness* is universally considered as a Government of the Mob, the Rule of the Rabble.—For this I appeal to every Reader of common Sense. Permit me to improve a little upon your Representation of these, in Page 13.—In my humble Opinion, *Licentiousness* and *Despotism* are two opposite Extremes, FAIR LIBERTY is the golden Medium that lies between them both; in avoiding one of those Evils, that Mankind have often run into the other, I will readily allow; but it is a sorrowful Truth, that a Free State plunging into *Licentiousness*, often emerges a downright Despotic Government; and thus from Scylla, the People are tossed back upon Charybdis; herein consists

sists the Alliance you mention. I need not criticise longer upon that Subject, tho' I could here be somewhat severe.

I heartily wish you could support and enforce your Doctrine in Page 15, respecting the Parliament "making itself perpetual" or even prolonging it's own Duration." The SEPTENNIAL ACT comes certainly within the Description, which Favour was done to the Nation, by those blessed State Reformers, the Whigs of 1717, and entailed by them upon us, till the Commencement of the present Reign; it would be wrong to charge it upon them any longer, as they call this the Tory Reign. However I am clearly of Opinion with you, that the then Parliament had as little Right to create itself SEPTENNIAL, as this present Parliament has to vote itself PERENNIAL; that the first was a mortal Stab to our excellent Constitution, the last would be the finishing Blow, if BRITONS did not resent the Injury immediately and effectually. What an excellent Opportunity of immortalizing their Memories, have modern Ministers and

parliamentary Leaders neglected? How long will it be before they heal the Breach, by restoring the Constitution?

Happily for Mankind, see Page 16, the **DIVINE RIGHT** of **KINGS** has been long given up, tho' the **PRIESTHOOD** still stands upon its old Foundation **JURE DIVINO**, and I have some Thoughts yet lurking about me, that **DIVINE PROVIDENCE** intended in the Order of human Affairs, that there should exist among Mortals, Civil Government of some Sort, without stamping any particular Form with Divine Authority, excepting one, the Jewish Theocracy, which has long been obsolete. Our excellent Poet **POPE** has said,

“ For Forms of Government let Fools contest,

“ Whate'er is best administered, is best.”

And his intimate Friend **LORD BOLINGBROKE** has observed, that Atheists and Divines have combined to arraign the Justice and Equity of Divine Providence in this World, the one to explode the Idea of Providence, the other to establish the Doctrine

of

of a future Retribution of Rewards and Punishments. We have lived to see ATHEISTS and PURITANICAL DIVINES, unite to arraign, undermine and pull down the best Frame of Civil Government now existing (or perhaps ever did exist) merely because it is not administered exactly consonant to their Ideas, or, more probably, because the Administration does not coincide with their Views. It would better become them to point out the Errors and Abuses that have crept in, to join Heart and Hand to repair the Breaches and restore the Constitution to its pristine Vigour, and improve the noble Structure to bless many Generations yet to come.—Your Encomium on Liberty or a Free State, in Page 17, would be much more pleasing, were it Just and Chaste. Again, I call on you to name that *Free State* whereof every Member knows himself to be his own Governor: The only Government I ever heard of, that approached any Thing near to this Description, was the ROMAN, which you in other Places, Page 24, 25, 29 and 30, degrade and condemn. I cannot conceive how you came to be so partial to the STATES of GREECE, against that un-

paralleled ROMAN COMMONWEALTH, which I think will outshine, in the Annals of the World, the most brilliant of those Greek States, as I hope GREAT BRITAIN will eternally outshine that MUSHROOM EMPIRE, which you and your Coadjutors are endeavouring to raise in the Western World, on the Ruins of her, that bare, nourished, cherished and reared the Bastard undutiful Brat.

To follow you thro' all your Absurdities, would swell this Pamphlet greatly beyond the Size of your turgid Volume, and would be as unpleasing, as it is unnecessary—Having taken the Ground from under you, like Quicksand, and exposed the Absurdity of your first Principles, your rising Superstructure tumbles down of Course. The Man who mistakes the fundamental Axioms of internal Government, can never make a good Investigation of the *Authority of one Country over another*. You are yet to lay the Foundation, and begin your Work again; therefore I shall be very brief in my Remarks on the Applications of your wild Principles of *Civil Liberty*.—Who that reads
your

your Section 3d. Page 19, can believe you ever read or saw the Roman History? That famous People in the Zenith of their Glory, conquered, and at the same Time civilized barbarous Nations, they carried their Arts with their Arms, their Civil Law superseded Martial Law; as soon as their Adversaries laid down their Arms, Peace and good Order ensued, and Happiness diffused itself thro' the whole Community. The People in Amity with Rome, had no Enemies to fear, no Tyranny to dread; and to be a Roman Citizen by Birth or Creation, was the Pride and Glory of the greatest Men of all surrounding Nations; even Princes courted the Civick Crown, and Family Alliances, with the noble Families of Rome, distant Nations and Tribes, almost unknown, sent Ambassadors to court her Alliance and solicit her Protection. Under the Cover of her Wings, the Sanction of her Name, they sheltered themselves against the Menaces of the hardiest Tyrants—Were all these Kingdoms, States and Provinces, “*in a State of Slavery worse than any Slavery of private Men to one another, or of Kingdoms to Despots within themselves.*” Will you argue

gue against stubborn Facts! will you put your new fangled speculative Principles of Liberty, against the long experienced and well proved Principles of such an illustrious State! For Heaven's Sake recant, retract, and make the Public the honourable Amends, for the Insult you have offered their Understanding.

Your Observation, Page 20, that “ the Government of one Country by another “ can only be supported by a Military “ Force, and without such a Support, must “ be destitute of all Weight and Efficiency,” is so ridiculous that one is tempted to think you wrote in Jest, only with a View to display your Abilities in refuting yourself in a subsequent Performance. Pray what Self Government or internal Policy of any Country in Europe is supported without a Military Force? How could you look over your own Production, without blushing at such a Number of palpable Absurdities? Your Picture of the Transactions of MASSACHUSETTS, is drawn with those distorted Features and Colourings that might be expected from your Outlines. Your Ignorance

rance of the Principles of Civil Government recurs with every general Assertion you make. In Page 24, you ask, " Are there
 " not Causes by which one State may acquire
 " a rightful Authority over another, though
 " not consolidated by an adequate Representation?" You answer, " there are no such
 " Causes—All the Causes to which such an
 " Effect can be ascribed, are CONQUEST,
 " COMPACT, or OBLIGATIONS CONFER-
 " RED."

Pray Sir, did you never hear of one State or Community growing out of another, as the Branch grows out of the Parent Trunk, receiving all it's Substance, Growth and Nourishment from the same Root?—Did you never understand that the constant Requisition of Protection and Defence, implied Subordination and Subjection of the protected to the Protectors and powerful Defenders!—What becomes of your pacific Plan, Page 8, if your Doctrine in Page 25, holds good, that all Compacts and Cessions between States are to be violated, as soon as either Party thinks them inconvenient or troublesome!—According
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to you, Nation should continually lift up
 Sword against Nation, whenever they fancy
 any thing their unalienable Right, which
 they have imprudently ceded to one ano-
 ther!—Where then will be the Gospel of
 Peace, which you profess to publish! Your
 Returns of Gratitude, Page 26, are in the
 true Bostonian Saintish Stile; I will there-
 fore leave you in full Possession of them.
 Your Comparison of our Plantations with
 Hanover is incomparable! — It is extremely
 difficult to understand Page 27. Your Ap-
 plication of the preceeding Arguments,
 where you pretend to be explicit, but some
 Part as far as I understand, is not true; or
 if true, is a sufficient Reason for cutting off
 the Colonies from their Membership of this
 Empire: And in Page 28, you fairly cut
 the Gordian Knot, by denying that the Su-
 PREME LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY or con-
 trouling Power, ought to exist any where
 except in such a SENATE or Body of Dele-
 gates, as you have described in your eighth
 Page, which at present exists no where.
 ERGO, the Supreme Legislative of Great
 Britain ought not to exercise any Authority
 or Controul over the Colonies! I could here
 again

again be merry at your Expence, were not the Subject too serious; but Curiosity induces me to ask you a fair Question: What Power on Earth could *limit the SUPREMACY of this SUPREME SENATE to the Common Concerns of the Empire?*—I beg Leave to repeat my Question; Where do you find your Empire of Freemen, here referred to? Having discarded the British Empire, do pray tell us, What Utopian Empire you mean to supply its Place?—Your 29th Page makes an odious Comparison between a Branch of a Free State, and the wretched Appendage of a despotick Monarchy.

YOUR SECOND PART commences with as much Self-Sufficiency, as your first Part with Ignorance of your Subject. Who, besides yourself, ever entertained the Idea that our Colonies held their Existence in America only for our Use?—You cannot bring one Man of common Sense to own the Doctrine!—I still *call them our Colonies*, if they are worth owning.—They are ours by Birth, by Nutrition, Tuition, Support and Protection!—They are ours by dear

E bought

bought Purchase of many Millions of Money and Rivers of Blood, shed in their Defence ! With all these undeniable Titles on our Side, we never dreamt of more than grateful Returns of Duty, Affection, Fidelity, and moderate Support within the Limits of their Power, for their and our mutual Benefit, Safety and permanent Tranquility !—This is flatly refused in the first Instance ! What must be expected in future, if such Advocates for them as you, can make Impression upon English Understandings ?—Page 32, You wave *Statutes, Precedents and Charters*, and appeal to “ *Reason, Equity and the Rights of Humanity.*” Are you authorised by the GENERAL CONGRESS at Philadelphia, to give up all the Ground they have hitherto stood upon ?—If so, I will readily join Issue with you ! The Charters were prerogative Acts of despotick Princes, and were in themselves, *ipso facto*, null and void ; had they not been recognized, indirectly by Acts of Parliament ; these Acts were good Shoots, grafted upon a bad Trunk, consequently have produced sour Fruit ; and these Acts or Statutes have been productive of
many

many bad Precédents; all which I am ready to give up, provided the Colonies will begin upon a clear Footing, and have Retrospect, not to what was done at the first Emigration, but what should have been done, for the Good of all Parties.— Otherwise it is very unfair for the Colonies to plead the Sacredness of Charters, in every Thing that makes for them, and to reject them, *in toto Cælo*, in every Thing that looks like a reciprocal Benefit to the Parent State.

In considering the Justice of the War with America, you quarrel with the Word **UNITY**, on Account of false Pleas and oppressive Claims, that have been set up by the Romish Communion and the **SUPREMACY** of the **POPE**, to preserve the Unity of the Christian Church.

Alas ! you little think how near an Affinity and Resemblance there is between dogmatical Priests of all Persuasions, especially Heads of Sects, and Teachers of particular Conventicles, from the **PONTIFEX MAXIMUS**, the High Priest of **ROME**, down

to the self-created Priest or Declaimer of LITTLE ZOAR, in the Neighbourhood of Bedlam. All concur in this general Maxim of invading the inalienable Right of the rational Soul, FREEDOM OF THINKING, and palming themselves upon their Auditors as Spiritual Guides, strictly prohibiting all free Enquiry into, and candid Discussion of the most important Objects of human Attention. This is the Spiritual Tyranny that has laid the sure Foundation of all other Systems of Slavery under the Sun!——

You are likewise offended with the Title we have assumed of the PARENT STATE! I wish you had supplied a better, before you had rejected the plain (not magick) Appellation! “The English came from Germany; does that give the Germans a Right “to tax us?” say you, Page 37.——Oh! Doctor! Doctor! this will not do, even for German Ears!——If you go on speculating in Politicks, you will certainly have a Call upon Doctor *Monro*!——Your allegorical Paraphrase upon the Fifth Commandment (*ibidem*) is extremely pleasing to all undutiful, runnagate Children, who value
Parents

Parents for nothing but what they can get of them, regarding all past Kindness; Care and Affection as nothing.—But Politicks and Divinity are two Things.

In Page 39, you stumble still worse about the Property of the Land! I am afraid, that in the Eye of the Supreme Governor of Heaven and Earth, it is neither their's nor our's, but that it is an ACCELDAMA, a FIELD OF BLOOD, purchased with the Blood of Thousands of innocent Victims; which Land you say, they bought of the Natives. Much in the same Manner as *David* purchased *Michal*, *Saul's* Daughter! I am not superstitious, but query, whether these bloody Disputes, now subsisting, are not brought on them and us, in the Course of just Retribution of Divine Vengeance, for Hecatombs of slaughtered Indians? Again, in Page 40, you revert to Charters and our Acquiescence in them, for more than a Century; and as quickly fly off from them again; and, to put the Matter out of Doubt, you avow their Right to break through all the Obligations on their Side, while those on us remain inviolable.

Really

Really Doctor I thought, till now, in all Contracts, one Party was as much bound as the other, to their respective Engagements! Do not you here want the Pope's Bulls or Absolutions?

Again ; you relapse into the Non-representation Fit, Page 41. — As if the Imperfection of our Constitution, was a just Cause for its total Destruction : Surely the Americans can have no Reason to complain of our Parliament, *represented* or *unrepresented*, while they are not burthened with one twentieth Part of the Taxes we groan under, on their Account.

While the Taxes imposed on us, are only extended to America, in a very small Proportion, their Complaints are groundless, their Fears chimerical, and their Opposition REBELLION, of the blackest Dye: If ever our Parliament should reach out its Hand to create one Tax in America which we did not pay in Common with them ; this would be indeed *giving* and *granting* what they could have no Right to give: This would precisely constitute Tyranny on our Side,
and

and Slavery on their's, if they submitted; but that is not likely to happen in your Time or mine, or that of our Children. According to your Account of their growing Power and Numbers, it would be sound Policy in them to temporise for the Present, until that oppressive Measure takes Place when they will be in a triplicate Ratio more powerful to repel the meditated Blow! Good Doctor! have you not one Word of Advice to bestow on those your afflicted Brethren of North America?—According to this same Account, America is to be the Asylum of Freedom, when she takes her Flight from hence; THERE is to be the Seat of Learning, Liberty, and pure undefiled Religion, when Britain no longer retains the Traces of her former Glory!—If this is to be the Consequence of our Political Conduct, why, my good Doctor, would you wish to frustrate these glorious Ends, by preventing the direct Means?—For America's Sake be silent!

I perfectly harmonize with you, in censuring the Ministry respecting their Method of conducting this momentous arduous Business,

ness, from the Commencement of the Quarrel. This enacting and retracting, proceeding and receding, threatening and coaxing, canting and recanting, bullying and fawning, I depise and condemn as heartily as you possibly can. — Never did a Government in the Plenitude of it's Power, suffer it's Supremacy to be disputed, by an insignificant Fishing Town of a remote Province with Impunity; until a GREAT COMMONER started an unheard of Objection to the legal Authority of the supreme Legislature of a mighty Empire! To such a Degree of political Idolitry were we arrived, that like the LAMA of Tartary, the very Dregs of turgid Speechification dropping from our IDOL, was greedily licked up by our puny ministereal Striplings of the Cabinet of that Time, and the most absurd Doctrine of the American Freedom from British Taxation, was not only swallowed by these half Witlings, but absolutely announced and confirmed to all the World, by that rash, injudicious and unseasonable Expedient, the REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT, against which I strove with all my Might, forewarning our Senate, that if they passed

that

that Act, it would be construed by the Colonists, as a formal Surrender of parliamentary Supremacy over them, and that if they ever offered to resume such Supremacy or Dominion over America, it must be done thro' a Sea of Blood. The Event has justified the Prediction, and we are now involved in a Scene of Blood, to decide a Question, which was no Question till our Folly made it so.

When the great Commoner rejoiced that the Americans had resisted the Authority of the British Legislature, he alledged as a Reason, that they were not represented in our House of Commons.—At the same Time he declared our Parliament had an undoubted Right to limit and regulate their Trade, and to enforce the Navigation Act, in it's utmost Latitude, so that if they attempted to set up any Manufacture, or even make a Hob Nail without our Consent, he would be the first Man that would punish them, and in such Case, Great Britain, with the smallest Exertion of her Power, could crush the Americans to Atoms.—Now whether they were represented in our House of Commons or not, I know not, for that depends

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upon our Ideas of Representation: But in my Opinion, the Americans were greatly misrepresented by him. — If a Want of Representation exempted them from Parliamentary Taxation, it must equally operate to free them from all Legislation and Commercial Regulations whatsoever, particularly the ACT OF NAVIGATION, so much contended for, and so much boasted of. — There cannot a Colour of Reason be given for their submitting to the Navigation Act, more than the Taxation or Stamp Act; Unrepresented as they were, alike in both the Parliaments, that made the one and passed the other! — He was therefore egregiously mistaken in pretending to enforce the one, while he trampled the other under Foot! — He seems to have fallen into another capital Error, respecting the Strength of the Americans: Instead of GREAT BRITAIN crushing the Colonies to Atoms, as in a Moment, they have bidden Defiance to the whole Strength of this Island; carried on not only a defensive, doubtful War, but an offensive, and (if we may believe their Friends here) a very successful War, to the indelible Disgrace of this Nation and Astonishment

nishment of all Europe and the known World!

I hope there is one Man lately admitted to our Councils, who, if not too late called in, will collect the Voice and Strength of the Nation, to act a decisive Part, in this hitherto disgraceful Controversy.—It is true, foul mouth'd Faction has been busy in depreciating a Character, perhaps inferior to none in this Kingdom, availing themselves of the incidental Court Disgust of the last Reign he fell under; not considering that the falling under Disgrace with the Court in this Reign is the highest Merit, some of the popular Favourites can possibly boast. Nay, it is the only Method that now succeeds in the Pursuit of Popularity. And all sensible Men know that LORD GEORGE was intended to be sacrificed to German Men and Measures, which, I could demonstrate, if need be. But the Pseudo-Patriots abundantly shew their Opinion of him, by the Terror and Consternation they express, on his Admission into the Cabinet, and the increasing Weight he is daily acquiring there! It is now expected

we shall no longer be plagued with fluctuating, wavering Councils, one Day swaggering, threatening and bullying the Colonists, another Day weeping over the dear Babes of Boston, and lamenting, like foolish Nurses, the Sufferings of their own inflicting! I have already said, the Question we are now fighting with the Colonies about, was no Question till our Folly made it so. The Americans boldly asserted our Parliament had no Right to tax them, although we had recently and formerly exercised that Right. False Patriots here back'd their Opinion with this specious Fiction, "*Taxation and Representation are inseparable!*" than which nothing can be more false in Theory and in Practice; insomuch that the contrary Doctrine is almost universal, as will appear anon. LEGISLATION and TAXATION indeed are inseparable, and always exist in the same supreme Power of every civilized State, universally, constantly and invariably, while that Power preserves its Dominion, whether a single Despot, or a Body of Men, called an Aristocracy, a Democracy, or a mixed Government composed of all three. Representati-
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on is only a Modification of Government, which, in some few Governments has obtained a little, in ours more than any perhaps, but in general is wholly unknown, even in European States. And, in our Island, where it makes the greatest Figure, it is so imperfect, unequal and ineffectual, that many sensible Men look upon it rather as a Shadow than real Substance. Whether this Representation is perfect or imperfect, still the grand Proposition stands undisturbed; That *the Supreme Legislative Body of every Kingdom, however constituted, is the Supreme Taxing Power, while it preserves its Authority over that Kingdom.* This is a Proposition so clear, it needs no Demonstration, so universal it admits of no Exception whatsoever. And, Sir, I challenge you, with all your Learning and Historical Knowledge, to name one civilized State, Kingdom or Empire, now existing, or authentically recorded in faithful History, where the Supreme Legislative Power did not include the Supreme Taxing Power. Nay, shew me if you can, how any Sovereign Power can support its own Authority over, and afford Protection to all the Parts
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of the Empire, without its Power of Taxation being co-extensive with its Legislative Power; or how any detached Parts will yield Obedience to the Laws of that Body, which has no Power over their Property! —You cannot produce an Instance where the Subjects enjoying Protection and the Benefit of Laws, refusing to pay Taxes imposed by Government, were not deemed in actual Rebellion and treated accordingly. This is almost the only universal Principle that runs through all Governments, indiscriminately, good and bad, despotick and free, barbarous and polite.—That Power only which can give Laws, can impose and levy Taxes, and that Power only, which can effectually raise Taxes, can give Laws and enforce them; and that Power alone, which can give Laws and levy Taxes, can vigorously and successfully protect the Subjects in their Rights, Liberties, and Property from internal Violence and foreign Enemies. I am far from discouraging the Principle of an equal, general and fair Representation: So far as it can take Place, without Confusion and Distraction, I approve of it; and in that Proportion does
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any Form of Government become free and stable; but surely the total Destruction of the civil Authority, cannot tend to the Amendment and Preservation of the State! Let every Improvement be made that can be effected with Propriety and Safety; and every Man contribute his Endeavours thereto; but above all Things, let us beware, *ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat.*

Now Sir, if it be clearly demonstrated, that the supreme Legislative Power, of every Empire, has a co-extensive taxing Power, over every Portion, District or Province of that Empire, the single Question in the American Contest, arises simply thus!—*Are the Colonists Subjects of Great Britain or not?* Do not, Sir, wilfully mistake me? I ask not, if they are Subjects to the Subjects; but are they FELLOW SUBJECTS with us, of the SAME GREAT EMPIRE; claiming all the Rights, Privileges and Immunities of us who are born in this Island as free-born Denizens and Englishmen? This is the main Hinge, the grand Axis, on which the whole Chain of Reasoning must turn. If they claim no Lot or Inheritance

rittance with us, no Rights and Privileges,
 more than French, Spaniards, Germans or
 other Aliens do; then our Parliament was
 wrong in attempting to tax them, the War
 is unjust on our Side, and I should be for
 discontinuing it immediately: But if the
 COLONIES constitute Parts and Portions of
 the BRITISH EMPIRE, frequently claiming,
 and as often enjoying the powerful PRO-
 TECTION of the LEGISLATURE, at an
 immense Expence of Blood and Treasure,
 to the main Body of the Kingdom; it
 follows, as clear as the Sun, that the same
 COLONIES ought to be subject to A MODE-
 RATE TAXATION, imposed by the supreme
 Legislature upon them in common with
 their Fellow Subjects, for the Protection
 and Safety of the whole; and for the Relief
 of the main Body, from the Burthen in-
 curred on their Account. Their Refusal
 to do this, is undutiful and ungrateful,
 and their actual Opposition to it, is an
 overt Act of REBELLION, of the most dar-
 ing and dangerous Nature; which Govern-
 ment is under a Necessity to quell and
 punish, otherwise to sit still and acquiesce
 in its own Dissolution. A REBELLION
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once begun, and carried on successfully, in a remote Province of a great Empire, makes hasty Strides and quickly penetrates into the Centre of Government; which has then no Alternative, but either to crush Rebellion or succumb! Here then all your pompous Reasoning about the *Justice, the Humanity, the Policy of the War and the Probability of Success*, comes to the Ground at once. It behoves the REBELS to consider these Things, and to weigh well the Consequence; as in all Probability, the Event will be fatal to them, whatever the Success may be to us. They will lament, with the Stag in the Fable, that they have mistaken their Friends for their Enemies, and their Enemies for their Friends. And now! what are they contending for, and you pleading for, on their Behalf? Independence on our Parliament, while they profess an aukward Allegiance to the King! A dangerous Scheme for this Nation! Pregnant with Ruin to our Constitution, if successful, by throwing so much Weight out of the parliamentary Scale into that of the Prerogative, as must inevitably overturn the Ballance of Power,

in Favour of the Prince, against the other Branches of the Legislature, the constitutional Guardians and Representatives of the People? This would be making a Dozen more HANOVERS, all DEAD WEIGHTS upon this Nation, and meer Patrimonies of the reigning Prince; the fatal ruinous Consequences whereof, must be obvious to every Man and Woman of common Sense!—Infinitely better would it be to cut them off for ever from being Members of the British Empire, let them unite or dis-unite; protect and defend, or subdue and enslave one another; or fall a Prey to the first Invader. The Loss to Great Britain might be a little felt, but soon forgotten; to them the Loss would be irreparable! And here I take the Opportunity of wiping off the Stain thrown upon the Characters of all those true Sons of Britain, who strenuously support and maintain the Dignity and Unity of our British Empire (whom you accuse of savage Folly) by declaring that I am clearly of Opinion with many more worthy Men, that it would be better to punish them in their own Way, by giving them up to the Madness of their Schemes,

Schemes, rather than shed much innocent Blood, in asserting an Authority over them, which, according to you and them, will not be worth keeping, when we have got it by fighting!—But then, let it be a total Separation, a mutual Independence, a compleat Dissolution of all Charters, Connections and Dependencies! Let them become ALIENS and STRANGERS to our COMMONWEALTH, the same as French, Spaniards, or Germans; and then, Doctor, your Comparisons will hold good! A mock Authority over them, asserted by us, and denied by them, I can no longer endure; especially as we have only the Privilege of spending our All upon them, but if we want any Returns from them, we must fight for it, and be abused like Tinkers into the Bargain! Before I conclude, I must tell you, the great Parade which you and they make, about their dealing with us, and taking off our Goods, at our own Prices, and so forth; when rightly considered, amounts to little or nothing!

As you are so good a Calculator of publick Monies, do pray look into the Custom-

house Books, and inform us, How much FRANCE and SPAIN, and other Foreign Nations, take of our Goods, and what Returns they make us? What the Ballance of Trade? Where it rests? And, How discharg'd?—All these carry on a Traffick with us, more or less, to our Advantage or Disadvantage, Conveniency or Inconveniency! Moreover, they come Volunteers, as real Merchants, not Pensioners! But our Plantationists must be bribed to deal with us; they must have liberal BOUNTIES to bring their Goods to Market, and then sell as dear as they can: They must have large Drawbacks upon Goods exported, after they have made the hardest Bargain they can! Whereas we discourage these Foreign Neighbours by additional Imposts, Inward and Outward, thereby drive them to make total Prohibitions of our Manufactures, in their Dominions, by Way of Reprisals. Yet all these Favours, Preferences and Benefactions, are, like our Protection, worth Nothing in the Scale of American Gratitude, Honesty and Policy: They plainly tell you, all this is Selfishness, although they contend in the same Breath, that

that Great Britain's legislative Authority is incompatible with American Liberty, Peace and Prosperity; because America is three thousand Miles distant from this Island! If the Distances of Places are to be the Criterion of mutual Interests, Affections and reciprocal Tyes, certainly the French and Dutch ought to be much greater Favourites with us than all the Americans together? It would be endless to follow these Advocates, through all the wild, romantick, contradictory Pleas, that they set up for them, and as impracticable as to pursue their Bush-fighting Champions through all the Recesses of impenetrable Woods!—It would perhaps be as useless as disgusting!—therefore I must inform you, that as I have no Connection with the Treasury, Exchequer, Custom-house, or Excise-office, or any Office of publick Revenue, or others; I cannot undertake the Examination of your Calculations, but if they are strictly true, to a mathematical Unit, I think no stronger Argument can be adduced for taxing the Americans, and that lustily too, in Order to lessen such an immense Load of Debt, hanging so heavy upon our Shoulders (under which we reel
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and stagger like a drunken Man) the greatest Part of which has been incurred solely, in defending and protecting these Americans, avenging all their Quarrels, and extending their Boundaries far beyond the Lines of Prudence, and perhaps of Justice!——In short, GREAT BRITAIN may well exclaim, in the Language of the Prophet—*Hear O! Heavens, and give Ear O! Earth! I have nourished and brought up Children and they have rebelled against me!*—Surely there never was a more ungrateful, unnatural and unprovoked Rebellion, than that broke out in Massachusets's Bay, and from thence spread over all the Northern Continent! All Europe stands astonished, and Posterity will be incredulous, when faithful Historians unfold the unparalleled Story!——There is one Thing however, that comforts me exceedingly, in this lamentable Crisis of our Affairs—We learn the Dispositions and Affections of Men and Bodies of Men; these Disturbances call them out to publick Action, unmasked. We now see the Hearts of these turbulent, selfish Colonists, and we know their boasted Strength; they must now defend themselves against

against future Invaders, or become really what they now call themselves in Jest, SLAVES ! In all Probability, we should have quarrelled with every maritime Power in Europe, on their Account, and in vindicating their boundless Pretensions, if they had not fortunately quarrelled with us.—We also see the Folly, the Danger and Expence of COLONIZATION, What SOUTH AMERICA has been to SPAIN NORTH AMERICA has been to us, a Drain to our Wealth, a Check to our Industry, a Monopoly of our Trade, and a downright Depopulation of our Country. BRITAIN was GREAT and glorious before she had a Colony; with her Colonies she is reduced to that hopeful State in which you represent her, if your Tale be true.—Can any stronger Reason be given for making the Colonies bear their Share of the immense Burthen, or selling them for what they are worth ? They are deep in Debt to this Nation, if they must be declared free and independent States, let it be under this Restriction, to pay their Quota of our National Debt—and then discharge them for ever ! But you exclaim ! What will become of our Trade ?

Trade? You say some People have reckoned our North American Trade about one HALF of our general Traffick, some less, but you, with peculiar Modesty, consider it only as one FOURTH of the whole! I think you make our Exports thither, about three Millions, which I believe exceeds either of the Accounts given in by Messrs. GLOVER and WOOLRIDGE. However we will not differ about a few Hundreds of Thousands; I write by Memory, therefore cannot be precise.—Now Sir, do you think in your Conscience, that the aggregate Sum of Great Britain's external Commerce, with the whole World, America included, amounts to no more than Twelve Millions annually?—Can you, can I, or can any Man in his right Senses, conceive how a great commercial Nation can subsist on Twelve Millions of annual Returns, support the Weight of national Credit to a Debt of One Hundred and Forty Millions; pay regularly the Interest of this huge Debt, and defray the immense Expences of Navy, Army, Civil List, &c. &c. &c. amounting to Ten or Eleven Millions, besides the Pay and Perquisites of Officers, collecting, attending and super-intending the Revenues

nues, rising in the whole, according to your own Account, to near Fourteen Millions; a Sum larger than you make the whole Foreign Commerce? At this Rate, we spend Stock and Block every Year, run in Debt besides, and repeat the same Game yearly! Was ever such Reckoning, such Reasoning, such Calculation and Misapplication of Numbers to Politicks?—Your Book passing thro' so many Editions, is no Proof of its Rectitude or Excellence!—Any Nonsense on that Side catches the popular Attention, but coming from a DOCTOR of DIVINITY, a reputed staunch Friend of Government, and militating directly against its Authority and Management of National Affairs; gains Currency among the injudicious Multitude, and many sensible Men are carried away with the Current of popular Phrenzy to gratify their Curiosity! However, it may operate to the Benefit of your Purse, you may depend upon it, you will add nothing thereby to your Reputation here! Your good Sense will now be as questionable as your Loyalty! Is this the best Returns you can make the mildest Government in Eu-

rope, for that ample unrestrained LIBERTY you enjoy, CIVIL and RELIGIOUS, the LIBERTY of saying what you please, in your Meeting-House, unmolested and undismayed? Do you not enjoy the TEMPORAL FRUIT of your SPIRITUAL LABOUR undiminished? You do not even pay LAND TAX out of your Stipend or Income, as the Clergy of the Church of England do!—What then do you complain of? It is to be feared you complain for Want of just Ground of Complaint. Your Publication is a pregnant Proof of the Extent of Liberty, CIVIL and RELIGIOUS in this Country; if not of that PHYSICAL LIBERTY you set out with: For it would seem, that every Man doeth, now, what seemeth him meet, regardless of Law or Government!—Had you confined yourself to your Province of teaching of Divinity within your own Walls, you might have passed with the World for an eminent Divine, without any Abatement, but now all intelligent Men will know you are a wretched Politician!—*Si tacuisses, Sapiens fuisses!*—To your no small Comfort, however, and Emolument, your Books will go by Dozens and Scores

to the different Provinces, where they will be read with great Avidity, by all American Insurgents : Admiring pious Congregations will neglect their Creed and Catechism, to read and hear their political Confession of Faith ; when Anthems, Eulogiums and Io ! Pœans, will be sung, in Honour of the great Founder and Defender of their new-born Empire ! Nothing but the inveterate Enmity the Saints bear to the EPISCOPACY, could keep the General Continental CONGRESS, from creating you ARCHBISHOP of all AMERICA ! If this Scruple of Conscience cannot be got over in Favour of so great a Favourite, I can only recommend you, not to follow, but to exceed the Example of the Red Lion, I mean the RED PARSON of BRENTFORD, by dying your black or blue Coat a deep flaming Scarlet, and then you may head your numerous Admirers in this Country, in Support of your dear, pious and oppressed American Brethren ! Thus you may be instrumental in restoring the Spirit of the KING-KILLING and KING-BANISHING Times, the Expiration whereof you so grievously lament

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It may be proper to inform you that the Author of these Strictures, is unacquainted with Lord Bute, Lord North, and all the Secretaries of State; has no Connection with Administration, is no Court Dupe, or discontented or disappointed Court Solicitor; but a warm Friend to all the Good, the truly Great, an ardent Lover of his Native Country, and Admirer of our excellent Constitution; therefore could not remain criminally silent, or withhold his Endeavours to apply an Antidote to that political Poison, your Performance had artfully instilled into Peoples Minds, under the delusive Mask of Piety and pre-supposed Erudition. So far from being a personal Enemy to you, he had always entertained a high Opinion of you, as a sound, pious and peaceable Divine, and an Ornament to the Body of Dissenting Clergy, until undeceived by an attentive reading of your motely Observations, a Composition of as much Turpitude of Heart as Weakness of Head; calculated to depreciate Government, alienate the Affections of Britons from the supreme Legislature, to raise Heats, Animosities, Divisions

Divisions and Distraction among ourselves, to spirit up the Americans to persevere in their Rebellion, by assuring them their Cause is just, and that Success must attend their Endeavours, proportionable to the Righteousness of their Cause !——This was too much for an honest Briton to bear in Silence; with a thousand Arguments throbbing in his Heart, forcing their Way thro' Mouth and Pen, to refute the ignominious Tale. His whole Soul took Fire at the indignant Treatment of his venerable Mother Country, by rebellious Children, countenanced and encouraged by Abettors here; so that no Respect of Persons, no Deference to Rank or Profession, no slavish Submission to the *ipse dixits* of Teachers, could restrain his *Amor Patriæ*, from thus venting itself, in an open Defence and solemn Vindication of the sacred Right of GREAT BRITAIN'S Supremacy over every Part or Parcel of her wide extended Dominions, on the Surface of the Globe; asserting the undoubted Power and Right of her supreme Legislature, to make Laws and enforce them, and to levy Taxes, through every Part of the same, for the due Support of
Government

Government and Preservation and Protection of the whole.—The Author hopes he shall end his Days, as he ends this Essay, and draw his latest Breath with this pious Ejaculation—"OH! SAVE MY COUNTRY! SAVE!—"

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